

PRINCIPLES BEHIND THE NEW REVISED EDITION OF
BRÜNNOW AND FISCHER'S *ARABISCHE*
CHRESTOMATHIE: A TRIBUTE TO THE SCHOLARLY
METHODS OF MICHAEL G. CARTER¹

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This paper examines the editorial principles underlying the eighth revised edition of Rudolf-Ernst Brünnow's and August Fischer's *Arabische Chrestomathie aus Prosaschriftstellern*, as carried out by Lutz Edzard and Amund Bjørnsnøs. An essential feature of the added commentary to the text excerpts is the recourse to the methods and terminology in native Arabic grammatical theory. Throughout his career in research and teaching, Michael G. Carter has placed much weight on the appropriate application of native Arabic scholarship to an apt description and analysis of both Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, a principle also adopted in this new, eighth edition.

1 Introduction

One of the major achievements of Michael G. Carter has been to demonstrate the unbroken relevance of native Arabic grammatical theory to the proper description of morphological and syntactical features in both Classical and Modern Standard Arabic. Often, the unreflected use of Latinate terminology is not helpful when it comes to the analysis of the idiosyncrasies of Arabic grammar, or rather features that are not entirely in line with related features in Latin and Greek grammar. Concepts developed in native Arabic grammatical theory need not completely replace the explanatory devices of Latin and Greek grammar; however, additional recourse to the native Arabic concepts is definitely conducive to a better understanding of Arabic grammar. As will be shown in this paper, case and mood in Arabic provide major examples in this context. It is, of course, a truism that Arabic syntax, even on an elementary level, can hardly be described without terms such as *ḍamīr aš-šaʿn* (for a

¹ This paper is dedicated to Michael G. Carter on the occasion of his 70th birthday in 2009. It is a fortunate coincidence that Michael Carter in fact checked the grammar, style, and contextual relevance of the notes to the English version of the revised edition of Rudolf-Ernst Brünnow's and August Fischer's *Chrestomathie*, for which we are most grateful.

pronoun of circumstance) or the *ḥāl*-clause (for circumstantial qualifier). On a more advanced level, terms such as *maṣḍar mīmī* (a noun with an *m*-prefix, functioning as a *maṣḍar*) or *ʿin al-muḥaffafa* (*ʿin* + independent case, followed by *la-*, instead of *ʿinna* + dependent case; cf. Wright, vol. 2: 81), to adduce only two examples, are indispensable for sound grammatical education. Moreover, concepts in native Arabic grammatical theory often exhibit striking parallels to concepts developed independently in modern linguistic theory, another point in favour of maintaining such terminology, as Michael G. Carter has frequently argued.² The following discussion is not intended to bear directly on the perennial question of the extent to which Arabic grammatical theory may or may not be dependent on Greek grammatical theory.³ This is an issue which is independent of the question as to whether or not Greek (or Latin) terms, such as diptote/triptote, are infelicitous as far as precise synchronic description of a morpho-phonological phenomenon in Arabic is concerned.

The new edition of Brünnow and Fischer's *Chrestomathie* presented an opportunity to apply these principles, i.e., to refer to native Arabic concepts in addition to the reference to traditional grammatical tools, such as William Wright's and Wolfdietrich Fischer's grammars of Classical Arabic. This proved to be all the more important, insofar as the chrestomathy ended and culminated with the complete text of Ibn ʿĀğurrūm's *Kitāb al-ʿĀğurrūmīya*. Carter has dealt with this text in his detailed analysis of aš-Šīrbīnī's treatise, *Nūr as-sağīya fī ḥall ʿalfāz al-ʿĀğurrūmīya*, which technically constitutes a sort of hypertext flowing around Ibn ʿĀğurrūm's treatise. The editors also decided to add the following text excerpts to the previous canon of texts, in line with a suggestion to that effect by August Fischer in his preface to the fourth edition of the chrestomathy from 1928:

(i) two excerpts of the preface to al-Ḥalīl's *Kitāb al-ʿayn* (1: 47–49 and 58–60), which illustrate the phonetic principles and the root combinatorics, respectively, underlying this first Arabic dictionary.

(ii) the lemma 'quṭrub' in Ibn Manzūr's *Lisān al-ʿarab* and az-Zabīdī's *Tāğ al-ʿarūs*.

(iii) the passage 'Fī ḍikr tanāzuʿ an-nās fī l-maʿnā llaḍī min ʿağli-hī summiya l-yaman yamanan wa-l-ʿirāq wa-š-šām wa-l-ḥiğāz' in al-

² Cf. his seminal paper from 1973, in which the functional reduction of syntax to binary units, as performed by Sibawayhi, is compared with the principles in Immediate Constituent Analysis.

³ For a concise discussion of the arguments in this connection cf. Carter 1997.

Masʿūdī's *Murūğ ad-dahab wa-maʿādin al-ğawhar* (2: 190–91);

(iv) the passages 'Fī ġumal min ʾaḥbār al-buldān' and 'Bağdād' in Yāqūt's *Muğam al-buldān* (1: 52–54 and 677–678).

The 'geographical' excerpts at the end of the chrestomathy are etymological and lexical in nature and thus in harmony with the preceding passages. And again, the insight gained by Carter into various grammatical and lexical features of these texts proved to be extremely useful for the presentation of the new edition.⁴

2 Examples

In the following, we shall investigate relevant examples in context.⁵ First, the issue at hand is explained and the relevance of native grammatical theory in the respective context highlighted. Then the Arabic excerpt under discussion is cited, accompanied by a translation and followed *verbatim* by the commentary in the English version of the revised chrestomathy.

2.1 The first example involves the different grammatical uses of the case endings. As is well known, the Arabic term *rafʿ* covers the functions of the *u*-ending as marker of both 'nominative' (case) and 'indicative' (mood), just as the Arabic term *naṣb* covers the functions of both 'accusative' (case) and 'subjunctive' (mood). However, not all instances of *a*-endings on Arabic nouns can be appropriately captured by the term 'accusative', which has only a few uses other than marking the direct object. Therefore, it makes sense to use the terms 'independent case' for the 'nominative' and 'dependent case' for the 'accusative', respectively. The following example concerns the apposition after a pronoun in the first or second person (p. 4, l. 2–5):

(١) نَحْنُ أَصْحَابُ الْحَدِيثِ نَتَكَلَّمُ فِي مِثْلِ سُفْيَانَ بْنِ عُيَيْنَةَ وَبِزِيدِ بْنِ هَارُونَ أَفْتَصَدَّقُ نَصْرَانِيًّا عَنْ غُلَامِهِ عَنْ يَهُودِيٍّ وَاللَّهِ مَا شَرِبْتُهَا إِلَّا لِضَعْفِ الْإِسْنَادِ

'We, the *ḥadīth* experts, argue like Sufyān ibn ʿUyayna and Yazīd ibn Hārūn. "Are we supposed to believe a Christian based on [the testimony of] his servant based on [the testimony of] a Jew? By God, I only drank the wine because of the weakness of the *ʾisnād*.'"

1.2 نَحْنُ أَصْحَابُ الْحَدِيثِ : apposition after a pronoun in the first or second person in the dependent case (*naṣb* in native Arab terminology);

⁴ Cf. the cogent summaries of these topics in Carter 1990a and 1990b.

⁵ Page and line numbers in parentheses refer to the Arabic section of the chrestomathy.

cf. Fischer §§ 383b and 393, note 2; the term ‘accusative’ does not fit here, just as it does not in the cases of the absolute negation, نَحْنُ أَصْحَابُ الْحَدِيثِ vocative in the *ʾidāfa*, predicative participle (*hāl*), predicate of *kāna* and its sisters, and vocalised subject after *ʾinna* (cf., for example, Lipiński 2001: 259–67); rather, we are looking at a trace of an old Afroasiatic ‘predicative’ case, associated with an *a*-ending; for quasi-compounds like *ṣāhib x*, *ʾahl x*, or *ḏū x* (cf. Fischer, § 391 and Wright vol. 2, § 81).

2.2 At this point, it is instructive to consult the text of the *ʾĀğurrūmīya* itself. One sees at once that the strictly functional definition of *ʾiʿrāb* captures the distribution of the ‘case’-marking vowels better than the mere transfer of the terms ‘nominative’, ‘genitive’, and ‘accusative’ to the description of the different grammatical operations in question. The *ʾĀğurrūmīya* defines the term *ʾiʿrāb* as follows (p. 171, l. 11–12):

(٢) الإعراب تغيير أواخر الكلم لاختلاف العوامل الداخلة عليها لفظاً أو تقديرًا وأقسامه أربعة رفع ونصب وخفض وجزم

‘Inflection [properly ‘Arabi(c)isation’, i.e., the insertion of vowels] is the change of word-endings due to the variation of operators, which occur before them, either explicitly or implicitly. Its subdivisions are four: independence, dependence, obliqueness, and apocopation’ (cf. Carter 1981: 34, 38).

1. 11 الإعراب : cf., for instance, the articles ‘Declension’ (L. Edzard) and ‘*ʾiʿrāb*’ (K. Dévényi), in: *EALL*, vols. 1 and 2, respectively, s.v., for the functional character of the Arabic case and mood endings; note especially that the term *rafʿ* ‘independence’ (literally: ‘raising’) covers both the ‘nominative’ case and the ‘indicative’ mood (i.e., a grammatical *u*-ending), and the term *naṣb* ‘dependence’ both the ‘accusative’ case (in its various functions) and the ‘subjunctive’ mood (i.e., in both cases a grammatical *a*-ending).

1. 12 تقديرًا ‘implicitly’ (‘by estimation’), i.e., beneath the surface structure; cf. Carter 1981: 35; cf. also the lemma ‘*Taḳdīr*’ in *EP* (A. Levin).

2.3 As far as the *a*-ending is concerned, the *ʾĀğurrūmīya* lists the following possible functions of *naṣb*, of which the direct object is just one possibility among many others (p. 179, l. 1–5):

(٣) المنصوبات خمسة عشر وهى المفعول به والمصدر وظرف الزمان وظرف المكان والحال والتمييز والمستثنى واسم لا والمنادى والمفعول من أجله والمفعول معه وخبر كان واخواتها واسم إن واخواتها والتابع للمنصوب وهو اربعة اشياء النعت والعطف والتوكيد والبدل

‘The dependent forms are fifteen in number: and they are the direct object, the verbal noun, the time-qualifier, the space-qualifier, the circumstantial qualifier, the specifying element, the excepted element, the noun negated by *lā* ‘no’, the vocative, the object of reason, the object of accompaniment, the predicate of *kāna* ‘to be’ and its related verbs, the subject-noun of *inna* ‘verily’ and its related particles, {the two objects of *zanantu* ‘I thought’ and its related verbs}, and the concordant of a dependent element, which comprises four things: the adjective, the coordinated element, the corroborative, and the substitute’ (cf. Carter 1981: 324, 326, 328).

1. 1 : المنصوبات خمسة عشر 1 : the following enumeration only contains fourteen examples: therefore, the Beirut edition interpolated مفعولا ظننتُ واسم إنَّ وأخواتها ‘the two objects of *zanantu* and its sisters’ between and إخوانها as fifteenth example; cf. Trumpp 1876: 86 and Carter 1981: 326f.; the older editions of the chrestomathy suggest that the fifteenth example may have been the *mā al-ḥiḡāzīya*, as was taught by the commentator of the *Āḡurrūmīya*, al-Mākūdī (d. 1401).

2.4 A famous problem in the history of Arabic grammar relating to the opposition between independent case (*rafʿ*) and dependent case (*naṣb*) is the construction known as *masʿalat az-zunbūr* or *al-masʿala al-zunbūrīya* (cf. Blau 1963, Talmon 1997, and Carter 2004: 13). The issue here is whether or not the predicate of *huwa* in the following quotation can stand in the dependent case (i.e., can be preceded by the ‘accusative’ marker *ʿiyā-*) or not. According to Sībawayhi, this was not the case, whereas his adversary al-Kisāʿī claimed the contrary and bribed a Bedouin to testify to that effect. Consider the following quotation from Ibn Ḥallikān’s *Wafāyāt al-ʿaʿyān* (p. 100, l. 8–10):

(٤) وزعم الكسائي ان العرب تقول كنت اظن الزنبور اشد لسعا من النحلة فاذا هو اياها فقال سيبويه ليس المثل كذا بل فاذا هو هي

‘Al-Kisāʿī claimed that the Bedouin would say, “I have always thought that the hornet was more painful in stinging than the bee, and lo and behold, it *is* just that! (*fa-ʿidā huwa ʿiyā-hā*).” Sībawayhi, however, said: “The example is not [grammatically correct] like that; rather [the correct version is]: ‘and lo and behold, it *is* that! (*fa-ʿidā huwa hiya*).”’

1. 9–10 : فاذا هو اياها – فاذا هو هي 9–10 : ‘lo and behold, it *is* that!’; cf. Fischer §§ 280 and 444 as well as Wright vol. 2: 329; cf. also Ibn al-ʿAnbārī’s *Inṣāf* (= Weil [ed.] 1913: 292–95, *masʿala* 99): ذهب الكوفيون الى انه يجوز: ان يقال كنت اظن ان العقاب اشد لسعة من الزنبور فاذا هو اياها وذهب البصريون الى

انه لا يجوز ان يقال فاذا هو اياها ويجب ان يقال فاذا هو هي for an in-depth analysis of the so-called *mas'ala zunbūrīya*, cf. Blau 1963.

2.5 So far we have looked at the syntactical implications of the terms *rafʿ* 'independent case' and *naṣb* 'dependent case'. But native Arabic is also important for a proper description of the pure morphology of case marking in Arabic. Michael Carter (personal communication) has always been dissatisfied with the unreflected use of the Greek terms 'diptote' ('surfacing in two cases') and 'triptote' ('surfacing in three cases'), especially as all diptotes become triptotes when annexed or prefixed with the definite article. Therefore, Carter prefers the terms 'semi-declinable' and 'fully declinable' in this context. The following quotation from the *ʿĀğurrūmīya* is instructive (p. 173, l. 2–8):

(٥) وللخفض ثلاث علامات الكسرة والياء والفتحة فاما الكسرة فتكون علامة للخفض في ثلاثة مواضع في الاسم المفرد المنصرف وجمع التكسير المنصرف وجمع المؤنث السالم واما الياء فتكون علامة للخفض في ثلاثة مواضع في الأسماء الخمسة وفي التثنية والجمع واما الفتحة فتكون علامة للخفض في الاسم الذي لا ينصرف

'Obliqueness has three markers, (1) *i*, (2) *ī/ay*, and (3) *a*. *i* is the marker of obliqueness in three places: (1) in the fully declinable singular noun, (2) in the fully declinable broken plural, and (3) in the sound feminine plural. And *ī/ay* is the marker of obliqueness in three places: (1) in the five nouns [i.e. nouns *tertiaef infirmaef*, e.g., *ʿabī*], (2) in the dual, and (3) in the [sound] plural. And *a* is the marker of obliqueness in the semi-declinable noun' (cf. Carter 1981: 72, 74).

1. 2 الخفض : Carter (1981: 73) suggests the translation 'obliqueness' (literally: 'lowering').

1. 4 منصرف : 'fully declinable', i.e., 'triptote'.

1. 8 لا ينصرف : which is not *munṣarif*, (but only) 'semi-declinable', i.e., 'diptote'.

2.6 The use of Arabic terminology is also sensible in the case of other constructions, e.g., as regards the specific function of the preposition *min* in the 'empty' comparison in the construction known as *mas'alat al-kuhl*. ('Satzvergleich'). Consider the following excerpt from the *sīra nabawīya* (p. 62, l. 8–10):

(٦) فتبسم رسول الله صلعم سرورا لما رأى من هيئتهم فى صلاتهم وما رأيت رسول الله صلعم احسن هيئة منه تلك الساعة

‘The Apostle smiled with joy when he marked their mien in prayer, and I never saw him with a nobler expression than he had that day’ (cf. Guillaume 1955: 681).

1. 10 منه ه refers to Muḥammad; the construction is known as *masʿalat al-kuhl*; cf. *EL*², s.v. ‘Tafḍīl’ (M. Carter).

2.7 A further construction, which can only be understood in its Arabic and Semitic context, is the conditional clause in which the apodosis does not express a direct logical consequence of the protasis, but rather expresses a comparison with a previous event (the logical apodosis has to be added mentally). In German grammatical nomenclature, the phenomenon is known as ‘Bedingungssatz mit Verschiebung’. Again, the *sīra nabawīya* features a relevant example (p. 62, l. 16 – p. 63, l. 4):

(٧) فلولا مقالة قالها عمر عند وفاته لم يشك المسلمون ان رسول الله صلعم قد استخلف ابا بكر ولكنه قال عند وفاته ان استخلف فقد استخلف من هو خير منى وإن أتركهم فقد تركهم من هو خير منى فعرف الناس ان رسول الله صلعم لم يستخلف احدا

‘Had it not been for what °Umar said when he died, the Muslims would not have doubted that the Apostle had appointed °Abū Bakr his successor; but he [°Umar] said when he died: “If I appoint a successor one who is better than I did so; and if I leave them [to elect my successor] one better than I did so.” So the people knew that the Apostle had not appointed a successor and °Umar was not suspected of hostility towards °Abū Bakr’ (cf. Guillaume 1955: 681).

11. 1–3: one can only try to infer the meaning of this conditional passage (‘Bedingungssatz mit Verschiebung’; cf. Fischer § 449, where the locus classicus of this construction, Q 12: 77, is quoted) from the *ḥadīṭ* literature, e.g., Buḥārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, °Aḥkām, Bāb 51, who states that °Umar is the speaker of the passage; من هو خير منى functions in both instances as subject (referring to Muḥammad): °in °astahlif fa-qadi stahlaifa man huwa ḥayrun minn-ī wa-°in °atruk-hum fa-qad taraka-hum man huwa ḥayrun minn-ī; for the involved *consecutio temporum*, cf. also Fischer § 450.

2.8 Michael Carter has cogently contributed to the now commonly accepted position that the historical value of Arabic phonemes cannot automatically be equated with their modern counterparts (cf. Carter 2004: 120–31). As stated above, the newly added sections in the chrestomathy contain two excerpts from al-Ḥalīl’s *Kitāb al-°ayn*, the first of which also has a bearing on this issue in that it concerns the phonetic principles underlying the Ḥalīlian sequence. Let us here consider a passage from the second excerpt, which concerns the possible number of permutations,

in one hundred and twenty permutations ($5 \times 4 \times 3 \times 2 \times 1$); only few sets of roots exhaust the possibilities.⁸

2.9 Other addenda in the chrestomathy are the lexical entries “quṭrub” in the *Lisān al-‘Arab* and the *Tāğ al-‘arūs*. Interestingly, *quṭrub*, deriving from the Greek λυκάνθρωπος ‘werewolf’ (via Syriac *qantrōpos*) and a term for various psychological diseases, was also the nickname of a grammarian who used to creep around Sībawayhi’s door in the early morning. As far as we know, Quṭrub (°Abū °Alī Muḥammad ibn al-Mustanīr)⁹ claimed that vowels were no longer case markers at his time, but merely sandhi vowels facilitating pronunciation and serving to distinguish context forms from pausal forms (cf. Carter 2004: 138).¹⁰ Here are two passages from the lemma “quṭrub” (p. 188, l. 1–2, and p. 189, l. 3–5):

(٩) قَطْرَبُ الْقَطْرَبُ دَوِيْبَةٌ كَانَتْ فِي الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ يَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّهَا لَيْسَ لَهَا قَرَارٌ الْبَيْتَةِ وَقِيلَ لَا تَسْتَرِيحُ نَهَارَهَا سَعِيًّا [...] وَقَطْرَبُ لَقَبُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْمُسْتَنِيْرِ النَّحْوِيِّ وَكَانَ يُبْكِرُ إِلَى سَبِيْوِيهِ فَيَفْتَحُ سَبِيْوِيهِ بَابِهِ فَيَجِدُهُ هُنَاكَ فَيَقُولُ لَهُ مَا أَنْتَ إِلَّا قَطْرَبٌ لَيْلٍ فَلَقَّبَ قَطْرَبًا لِذَلِكَ

‘*Quṭrub*: The *quṭrub* is a little reptile from the Ġāhilīya. One claims that it never keeps quiet, and it is said that it never rests, constantly walking around. [...] And *quṭrub* is also the nickname of Muḥammad ibn al-Mustanīr, the grammarian, who used to visit Sībawayhi early in the morning, and when Sībawayhi opened his door and found him there, Sībawayhi said to him: “You are just a night-*quṭrub*.” Therefore, Muḥammad ibn al-Mustanīr got the nickname *Quṭrub*.’

1. 1 قَطْرَب : derived from Greek λυκάνθρωπος ‘werewolf’; the two lexical entries in *Lisān al-‘Arab* by Ibn Manẓūr (d. 1312) and in *Tāğ al-‘Arūs* by az-Zabīdī (d. 1791) should be studied in close conjunction with Ullmann 1976: دَوِيْبَةٌ: ‘a small, creeping creature’.

1. 3 مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْمُسْتَنِيْرِ : grammarian, d. 821.

1. 4 كَانَ يُبْكِرُ : ‘he used to visit in the morning’.

2.10 The last addendum in the chrestomathy are two excerpts from Yaqūt’s geographical lexicon *Muğam al-buldān*. Let us finish our survey of the new edition with two passages in the section about the city Baghdad, in which different etymological approaches to the place name *Bağdād* are pondered (p. 198, l. 4–7, and p. 200, l. 4–5):

⁸ Based on a root count in Wehr, approximately every seventh possible root is attested among the trilateral roots.

⁹ Died in 206/821. Cf. GAS 8: 61–67; 9: 64–65.

¹⁰ This observation is definitely in line with what we assume to know about diglossia/polyglossia and the loss of ^o*i*°*rāb* in the history of Arabic.

(١٠) بَغْدَادُ أُمُّ الدُّنْيَا وَسَيِّدَةُ الْبِلَادِ قَالَ ابْنُ الْأَنْبَارِيِّ أَوَّلُ بَغْدَادٍ لِلْأَعْجَامِ وَالْعَرَبُ يَخْتَلِفُ فِي لَفْظِهِ إِذْ لَمْ يَكُنْ أَصْلُهَا مِنْ كَلَامِهِمْ وَلَا اشْتِقَاقُهَا مِنْ لُغَاتِهِمْ قَالَ بَعْضُ الْأَعْجَامِ تَفْسِيرُهُ بُسْتَانُ رَجُلٍ فَبَاغَ بَسْتَانَ وَدَادَ اسْمَ رَجُلٍ [...] وَقِيلَ إِنَّمَا سُمِّيَتْ مَدِينَةُ السَّلَامِ لِأَنَّ السَّلَامَ هُوَ اللَّهُ فَأَرَادُوا مَدِينَةَ اللَّهِ

‘Baghdad is the mother of the world and the mistress of countries. Ibn al-°Anbārī said: “The origin of [the word] *Baġdād* is with the Persians, and the Arabs differ on its pronunciation, since the origin of *Baġdād* does not belong to their speech and its etymology does not lie within their language.” Some Persians said that its [correct] interpretation is ‘garden of a man’, *bāġ* being ‘garden’ and *dād* the name of a man. [...] It was also said that *Baġdād* was called ‘city of peace’, because peace means God. Thus they meant “city of God.”’

1. 4 بَغْدَادُ : modern Iranists derive the name Baghdad from Old Persian *bag* ‘god’ and *dād* ‘given’, i.e., ‘given by God’ (cf. H. Kennedy, ‘Baghdad’, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 3 (1989): 412–15); however, the name is already attested during the reign of Ḥammurapi in cuneiform documents, the ultimate etymology remaining unclear (cf. *EL*², s.v. ‘Baghdād’).

Conclusion

With this short overview we hope to have shown the principles underlying the new edition of Brünnow and Fischer’s *Chrestomathie* and to have given tribute to Michael Carter, both as regards his methodological principles in general and his particular input to the formulation of the newly added notes to the chrestomathy in particular. It is hoped that the rather difficult text excerpts thus become more accessible to beginning students of Classical Arabic and that students at the same time gain some understanding of the continuing relevance of native Arabic grammatical theory.

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